

MAN!

"Man is the measure-
ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack—WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 6—No. 5.

Administration and Editorial Address
P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles, Calif., May, 1938

1 (401)

Single Copies FIVE CENTS

BREAD AND FREEDOM

"... Then desolated Freedom mourns
Her immolated sons;
And lamentation mingle with
The echoes of the guns."

The course of events shaping themselves so rapidly in our social organism commands a little bit of study into the causes that brought about a declining state in our whole conception of freedom. It calls for a brave, open-minded and practical examination of conditions that are responsible in promoting a back-to-slavery movement, reminiscent only of the feudal days when men were willing to sell their life and freedom for a loaf of bread.

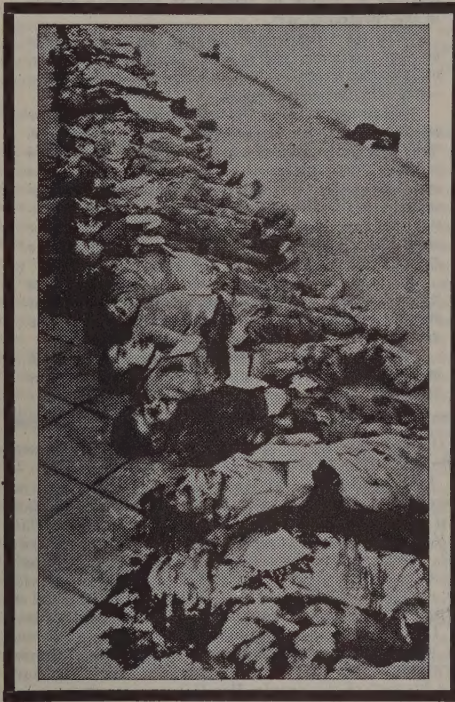
That Fascist lordism is on the march is an indisputable fact. It has overrun Italy, has overtaken Germany, has overwhelmed little Austria, and now is clubbing the workers and peasants of Spain into submission. Which countries are next to fall in its wake is a matter of speculation; but surely, there are several of them on both hemispheres already marked for delivery, and the Dragon, that is fascism, will soon have them in his mighty claws.

We shall not quarrel with the gangster politicians of our so-called democracies who gave open approval to the ravagings of Hitler and Mussolini. We can readily understand their political game—which is to accept Fascism at its worst rather than Communism, or some other form of revolutionary doctrine, at its best. Capitalism has too much at stake to be trusted to a radical form of domination, hence she is willing to sacrifice part of her gold-pile to dictatorship from the right rather than risk all of it to be expropriated by the left. From her standpoint the issue is clear, and neither Mr. Chamberlain nor Monsieur Daladier, her staunchest defenders, should be held up to censure for their treaty agreements with the representatives of this neo-barbarism. Ethically, of course, they cannot evade the scourge of public condemnation, for by their villainous acts they have not only betrayed every vestige of human freedom gained in the course of civilized progress, but have given sanction to mass slaughter of human beings all over the world. Try as Mr. Chamberlain may, he cannot so easily wash his hands off from the blood that is swelling the rivers of Spain; it will be a long while before the death-cries of the slaughtered babies of Spain can appease his aristocratic mind. That, however, is all very well if we look upon it from a humanitarian or ethical standpoint; practically their actions are in complete accord with their sworn duties to protect capitalism from any threat of rebellion that may come from an aroused and oppressed people.

The telling-blow which the struggle for freedom has received is, therefore, not ascribable to the reactionary forces that rule the world, but to the subordinated masses that have betrayed the social revolution. They, and only they, are mainly responsible for the turn of events that are leading the working class back to slavery and oppression. They, and only they, are directly to account for the mass slaughter of the workers and peasants in the Spanish republic. They, and only they, will sometime in the future need to atone for the tyranny which is sweeping the world at this very moment under Hitler and Mussolini.

We may, if we will, poke all the fun we can at the overwhelming majority vote Hitler received in his conquest of Austria. No doubt a large portion of the vote was rolled up by the threat of murder and terrorism; no doubt the "ja" vote itself was greatly augmented by the sham trickery dictators employ in counting votes (who is there to challenge it?); nevertheless, no matter how much we shall deduct from the 99.75% "ja" vote cast in the plebiscite, we cannot ignore the fact that there would still remain a comfortable majority for a Hitler conquest. The question then arises, why didn't the German and Austrian workers—most assuredly they represent a large portion of the vote cast—at least have the courage to stay at home and not swell up the count to such a unanimous approval for a Hitler victory? Why in the name of reason could those workers display such great heroism on the barricades against a Noske, or a Dollfuss, and suddenly become so meekly terrified as to participate in the shameless "anschluss" fake, promulgated by a Hitler?

In order to supply a reasonable answer it is necessary that we look into the responsible causes from a realistic point of view, that is to say, without fear of



Non-Intervention Committee's Achievements....

On April 12, 1938 the Spanish press agency published the following list of children massacred and wounded by the German and Italian planes in air raids on cities and villages:

| City or Province | Killed | Wounded |
|-----------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Ciudad Real Area | 2,011 | 1,974 |
| Catalonia outside Barcelona | 1,674 | 2,472 |
| Barcelona | 598 | 1,010 |
| Madrid | 879 | 1,380 |
| Valencia | 329 | 416 |
| Asturias | 1,214 | 2,000 |
| Basque Provinces | 684 | 1,165 |
| Madrid & Guadalajara | | |
| Provinces | 1,879 | 2,649 |
| Gijon Province | 211 | 355 |
| Santander Province | 1,247 | 1,899 |
| Totals | 10,699 | 15,350 |

The Pope has given his blessings to the Fascist butchers in Spain, the materials for constructing the aeroplanes has been obtained in England and France, the oil in Russia, the explosives in the United States—thus an international self-prophesied Christian plutocracy joins its bloody hands with a Marxian-ruled country in aiding to massacre innocent children and a liberty-fighting people.

Such an infamy puts the seal of ultimate doom on these traitors to every fundamental conception of decency, honesty and justice.

inviting injury to our idealistic tendencies of facing them in their true light; however, throwing all fears aside these seem to stand out as most influential: (1) that the background of propaganda for the emancipation of the lower masses has always been—and still is—a bread-and-butter ideology, i. e., greater stress has been laid on the issue of economic security than on political freedom; (2) that the basic idea of "proletarian organization", especially as taught and advocated by the office-seekers of Marxian creed, has always been to instill in the working class a desire for economic stability rather than social equality; these factors well nigh explain in general terms the psychology of the working class when faced with the problem of improving their unfortunate lot. And so it happened that when Hitler came to the German and Austrian workers with a practical theory which promised them a loaf of bread, they reacted in the same manner as the vassals in feudal days

who, caring only for their stomachs, knelt humbly before a lord and promised to serve him for the great privilege of being secured with a meal. For that matter they reacted likewise in Italy and most probably would react so wherever a like situation should arise.

That the analogy is far from mere conjecture is proven by labor's tragic indifference towards the bloody struggle for freedom going on in Spain. A two-year period is drawing to a close in which the reactionary forces of the world have been massacring the workers of that country; they are practically being exterminated by the insidious combination of fascism and capitalism. Did the labor movement (of the world) take any steps for preventing this horrible slaughter of their class brothers?—which is in their power to do. Did they ever think of calling a STRIKE in all ammunition plants to halt shipments of explosives to the Fascist countries?

Here is a strange picture of this most shameful condition: on numerous occasions a Laborite in the English parliament rises to chide the Tory leaders for their reactionary policies towards the Spanish republic—falling, by the way, on deaf ears; and while their protesting voices ring through the Chamber, English labor produces war material for delivery to Italy and Germany, who in turn reconsign it to Franco. They never think of calling a stoppage in the munition factories to prevent shipment of these armaments, for fear, apparently, it would seriously affect the economic position of the English workers . . .

A like picture unveils itself on this side of the Atlantic. In the almost two years of bloody struggle that is going on in Spain our country has been overrun with strikes. They struck for everything under the sun where wages and hours are involved; yet American labor never gave a thought to calling a STRIKE in duPont's munition plants to save the life and freedom of their fellow workers on another territory, principally of course, because American labor, as their English brothers, are more interested in earning their bread than in preserving freedom. As a further illustration of labor's narrow-minded ideology is the shameful happening recently in Flint, Michigan, where a committee of the United Automobile Workers Union prevented a worker from entering his place of employment because he had been behind in his Union dues; yet no such committee ever appeared to picket a wharf where 20,000 bombs were loaded on a Nazi ship, undoubtedly for delivery to the Spanish Rebels. Such an act would be too idealistic a venture, of course, for an organized movement that has been nourished and brought up in a materialistic conception of life. Not that we are so Christian-minded as to preach self-abnegation, or wish to deny the right and necessity for the working class to be organized for the purpose of exacting better economic conditions. Such is not the case. To improve the economic status of the toiling masses is most imperative, for none have as much right to the fruits of labor than those who produce them. But man cannot live by bread alone. Freedom is as essential to a human being as bread is. The working class can never hope to attain social equality unless they learn to appreciate freedom as well as economic security. And besides, a filled stomach without a free mind isn't worth having anyway.

Generally speaking, the working class of the world can scarcely shed the responsibility for the crushing blows their Spanish brothers who are offering with life to the cause of freedom, are receiving at the hands of Fascism. In essence though the leaders of organized labor—whom the workers are wont to follow—by remaining deaf to the cries of the dying Spanish workers prove themselves as treacherous and reactionary as the leaders of Toryism and capitalism. They are the ones who are betraying labor's struggle for freedom—be it in Spain or elsewhere. And if ever the blood that is being spilled by Spain's workers will drench the heads of the Chamberlains, the Hitlers and the Mussolinis, it certainly will not leave out the Atlees, the Greens and the Lewises.

History has a way of telling. . . .

Samuel Polinow

You abolish Christian civilization the instant you abolish private property. . . . The foundation of the church is the financial ability of the people who make up the churches.—Major Gen. Amos A. Fries, as quoted in the New York Times, Sept. 21, 1937.

SPAIN'S HEROIC FIGHTING PEOPLE CALL FOR ARMS!

(The Anarcha-Syndicalist (C.N.T.) and Anarchist (F.A.I.) Movement of Spain Draw a Graphic Picture of the Struggle Now Being Waged There)

Fascism's Offensive Against Us

The offensive against our Aragon front which the fascists had been preparing for a long time, has started with intense violence. While the democratic governments were capitulating to Hitler and Mussolini, and the "non-intervention" farce continued its usual performances the situation was becoming more serious every day. Italy and Germany have accumulated enormous amounts of war material on all the Spanish fronts. They have conveyed numerous contingents of men and machines to be used against our people, defenders of our freedom, who fight the battle of the workers of the whole world. That is why, as from March 10th, the great offensive was launched with nearly 200,000 men and great masses of aeroplanes, artillery and tanks of the latest type, which were put in action against our lines in Aragon.

In accordance with the methods of "totalitarian wars" this offensive was preceded by violent bombardments of towns near the front lines, bombardments which destroyed completely most of them and caused the subsequent disorganization. When the engagement began, our men found themselves facing an enemy with such a superiority in armaments that in many places it became impossible to offer any resistance. The aviation, which is a decisive element in these battles, was in the proportion of 10 aeroplanes on the enemy's side to 1 on ours, and the same can be said regarding tanks, cannons and other mechanical auxiliaries. Thus the struggle was terribly unequal and our Brigades, especially the Confederals, after having resisted to the last with prodigious heroism, were forced to retreat quickly. Many of our troops on those fronts fell under the onslaught of the enemy.

During seven days a wave of panic passed through a considerable part of Aragon. The civil population in great masses could be seen leaving town after town as the fascist advanced. The peasants of Aragon who had accustomed themselves to new ways and means of life, in spite of the persecutions of the republican Government itself, could not submit to the barbaric slavery of fascism. An impressive exodus of the civil population was produced as our Army began its orderly retreat. However, the wave of panic, provoked by the terrible effects of the aerial bombardments, was soon suppressed. The responsible Committees of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. in Aragon exerted all their efforts to rouse the spirit of the people and to organize their resistance. It was soon demonstrated that the courage and serenity of the sons of Aragon, in their majority militants of the C.N.T., were beyond expectations. They contributed greatly to the reorganization of the military forces and mobilized themselves for fortification work in order to prepare a desperate resistance. Thanks to all this, it became possible to stem the fascist avalanche and to raise the morale of all those who were forced to abandon many kilometers of land, previously conquered inch by inch by the glorious Confederal columns.

To understand properly the degree of heroism of the proletarian population and of our militia, it is necessary to take into consideration the perfectly well founded lack of confidence they felt towards the Government and the High Military Command. The low political schemes afterwards concerted everywhere, even in military affairs, had disgraceful effects on the morale of the soldiers and on the workers in the rear-guard. Favouritism, graft, and all the vices of old time politics have been prevalent in official political spheres in spite of the dangerous present situation. Our soldiers felt that they had been abandoned. The high Commands were converted into a shelter for incapable individuals, instruments of this or that party which thus had in its hands the means to serve its own ends. The Confederal Divisions were moved systematically from one place to another without any military reason, and often with the sole object of avoiding their influence in certain regions. There was also a complete lack of organization and preparation for the supply of materials, the construction of fortifications, etc. And all this happened in spite of the fact that one of our Chiefs, comrade Yoldi, had news of the concentration of the enemy's forces plenty of time in advance and asked for certain steps to be taken, but nothing was done. If to this is added the series of reactionary steps which caused discontent among the workers in the rear-guard, it will be easy to understand what terrible disadvantages our combatants had to face.

While this offensive was carried on, the fascist aviation bombarded violently Barcelona, Tarragona, Reus, Sagunto and other cities on the Mediterranean coast. Above all in Barcelona, the damage and victims which resulted, in few days, exceeded the totals of all the other bombardments. The city was seriously affected. The capacity for resistance of the people and the fighting spirit of the workers was severely tested. The first sensation of panic, which resulted in the departure of many people to the mountains, was promptly checked by the calm action of the Syndicates, which gave out the slogan "Be calm and return to work." The Libertarian Youths were very active in this respect. Their slogan—"He who leaves his job is a traitor" could be seen painted on every wall all over Barcelona. Once more appeared that heroic atmosphere which enables peoples to endure the greatest sacrifices. The workers of Barcelona, defying the terrible fascist shells, reorganized rapidly the life in the city, showing once more that

MR. ROOSEVELT AND BANDIT FRANCO

For close to two years the liberal, socialist and Communist circles that have come forward more and more to support and to defend Mr. Roosevelt's regime have looked on how an especially designed "neutrality act", promulgated by Mr. Roosevelt, has been used to prevent the loyalist Government of Spain from buying any arms and ammunition. At the same time, this so-called "neutrality act" has not prevented Germany from buying all the arms and ammunition that Franco has need of. (China, too, is obtaining all the armaments she can buy despite the "neutrality act".)

So, at last, the liberal-socialist-Communist apologists of Mr. Roosevelt opened up a campaign to rescind the "neutrality act". They were positive that only a few tricky fascist scoundrels within the State department were the sole culprits responsible. A show down was voicelessly demanded by them. And they got it on Friday, May 13. The great "democrat" in the White House heeded to the voice of every catholic fascist defender of Franco by refusing to support a change in the "neutrality act".

Thus, the bloody-butcher Franco has now not only as open associates the bandits Mussolini and Hitler, but also the mountebank "liberal" in the White House—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The struggling people of Spain can be helped despite the Blums, the Chamberlains and the Roosevelts. They can be helped only by the direct action of the working class. The heroic masses of Spain need arms and ammunition, and it is up to the workers everywhere to see to it that they get it, just as it is imperative that no worker should lift a hand on any arms or provisions destined to the hangmen of Liberty—the Francos, the Mussolinis and the Hitlers.

Direct revolutionary action by the working classes throughout the world can not only save the valiant struggle of the people in Spain, but at the same time deliver a death-blow at fascism everywhere else.

Action not words are needed—this must be borne in mind by all those who truly wish to aid the people of Spain.

it is they, and they alone, who exert the effective power which is opposing criminal fascism.

In the meantime the most fantastic and diverse accounts were being circulated in regard to the political and military situation. The fact is that the Negrin Cabinet was in continuous session and its position was critical. Besides the military setback, there were purely political reasons for this. Prieto and the republicans wanted to eliminate the Communists while Negrin seemed to support them. The Communists, on the other hand, aware of the fact that their situation in the Government was in danger, soon organized an artificial street demonstration, trying to give the impression that they have the support of the people. For this purpose they spread the rumour that it was intended to bring about a rapid armistice with the traitors, and under the pretext of protesting against it they provoked a public demonstration on behalf of the Communist party. This provoking and dangerous move failed. The press of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. immediately pointed out its disapproval of such a move into which the Communist wanted to draw our organizations. At the present time the political situation still remains uncertain. All attention is centered on the military operations, to which it is necessary to subordinate all other matters.

The libertarian movement, represented by the Committees of the C.N.T.—F.A.I., fulfills its duties in the front lines by raising the morale of the soldiers and organizing an invincible resistance in face of the enemy. It has also presented to the Government a series of immediate demands in regard to rectification of military policies, liberation of the anti-fascist prisoners, etc. in order to improve the morale. The Government promised to comply with these demands. If that promise were not fulfilled, the whole responsibility would fall on the Government, because it would have been its fault, in the sense of having hindered the resistance of the people, and thus aiding the triumph of fascism. The libertarian movement has maintained itself in the front lines since the beginning of the fascist rebellion, and maintains itself in the most dangerous positions without paying any attention to the frequent provocations or to the underhand games of old style politics, which, in spite of everything, continues as before. This is another feature added to the great tragedy of the Spanish people.

The situation is still serious. The fascist offensive has started again in Aragon, but so far it has been checked by our troops. The difference between the enemy's fighting materials and ours is greatly to their advantage. They have enormous quantities of aeroplanes, machine-guns, tanks, etc., while we have nothing else

From a Scoundrel to A Scoundrel

We are glad to hear vibrating in your Excellency's message the traditional faith of Catholic Spain, whose crown of faith is enriched for its better fortune by a new hero of Christian fortitude, and we send you with all our hearts the apostolic benediction, propitiatory of Divine favours.

The Pope to Butcher Franco

but the supreme decision of our people to fight to the utmost and die if necessary rather than become abject slaves. But heroism alone, however, great it may be, cannot counteract the formidable destructive machine serving the ends of the totalitarian powers. We are experiencing the urgent need of obtaining powerful and efficient armament, which in the hands of our combatants would be sure means of victory. It does not depend on us, it does not depend on the Spanish people to obtain these things, but it is up to the peoples and workers of other countries who should make it easy for us to obtain them by imposing on their Governments respect for the elemental principles of international rights. We have been insisting on this since the beginning of the war, without having received any satisfaction. If now, in view of the grave situation that threatens Spain and also other countries, no notice is taken of our needs, other peoples will soon feel upon their flesh the consequences of their indifference.

Arms! Arms! Send Us Arms!!

The workers of England, France, North America and other democratic countries are awakening and voicing the urgent need of the hour if civil rights, democracy and human liberties are to be saved in Spain now and be ensured for the rest of the world. The workers and the workers only can be the powerful instrument to force the miracle that will clear up the atmosphere of all the clouds which are evermore darkening the horizon as time goes on.

It will be nearly two years ago that the war, our so-called "civil war", was unfurled in Spain by the agents of a reactionary trinity longing for the revival of our ancient Inquisition. Chief inquisitors of that patched-up state were found in blood thirsty Martinez Anido and in that hypocrite plotter—in the name of Christ—Cardinal Segura. These two are genuine reincarnations of Loyola and Arbues. Other lesser characters of our drama, including Franco, are used as executors of the orders given by those who are behind. Anido and Segura, who are worthy gentlemen of the dagger and of the cross.

Time and again we have stated the fact that the military rebellion would have been immediately ended by the Spanish people had it not been refused every legal international right to purchase the means that were vital for the defense of the country. The task of suffocating the rebellion fell upon the working people of Spain. The enemies did not expect such a stubborn resistance. They could never imagine the greatness of popular heroism, bitter with indignation at the criminal treachery. And it was the people, following the lead of its most advanced labor unions, poorly armed with pistols and hunting guns, that took away from the rebellious militars, cannons, machine guns and everything they had stored in the principal cities of Spain. The streets and main avenues of the cities soon became red with the blood of the people. Waves of human beings were advancing toward the forts from which the renegades were discharging their powerful, deadly weapons, until the people, walking over the dead, reached their goal. Such was the spirit guiding Spain during those memorable days of July, 1936! And that is the spirit that serves us now as the guiding beacon for Spanish freedom and independence!

Spain not only has been denied the support of countries which are co-members in the League of Nations but also has suffered the jeopardy of great countries who claim themselves the leading sponsors of the principles upon which the League was founded. France and England found "sufficient" reasons to take from the jurisdiction of the League the burden of solving the Spanish question. That in itself will be registered in History as a treacherous betrayal. But they had to disguise the intentions that were behind them and, it was for that purpose that they had the "bright idea" of giving birth to our well known grotesque monster which under the name of Non-Intervention, was to be used to foster up the ends of the rebellion and to hinder and make it impossible the defense of the people's sacred rights.

Instead of giving Spain the support of those countries that were co-members of the League of Nations, our country was condemned to suffer by the foremost sponsors of the principles upon which the League was founded. Meanwhile the enemy was allowed to receive everything and, at any time, through the frontier of Portugal—the dumping depot for Franco's war materials—the Spanish-French frontier observed closely all the clauses of the "Non-Intervention" pact. It was thus perfectly established how SINCERE was the desire of the members of the "Non-Intervention" farce to work up things in such a way as to benefit the enemies of the Spanish people. However, and in spite of all, Spain has been able to hold its own against the traitorous generals and event to inflict setbacks to the invaders.

To defend Spain from our enemies we do not hardly ask anybody to come and enroll in our ranks. We are sufficient numerically to make our fascist invaders pay dear for their mad adventure. We are not such an easy bit as Austria was for Germany or Abyssinia for Italy. But, since we are forced to fight such a tremendous combination of powers as those arrayed against us, we wish to impress upon the working class of the world how imperative is their help to provide our heroic Army with cannons, tanks and aeroplanes in sufficient quantities, so as to enable us to make a rapid clean-up of all the spurious pests that infect our fertile soil. The working class

has in its own hands tremendous powers to help us. That which the corrupted tools of Diplomacy have built up so patiently to enslave progressively the workers of Spain and of the entire world can be turned upside down by a simple move of that great giant—Labor!! And it is from you workers of the world, that we expect action, quick and decisive action to help us defeat fascism! If we are to be helped, send us arms, for **ARMS IS WHAT WE NEED!**

We Will Be Free!

While that miscarriage of Democracy known as the "non-intervention" Committee, begotten in the conspiracy of the City and the Quay d'Orsay, wastes its time discussing the withdrawal of "volunteers" from Spain, Italy and Germany are flooding our land with shiploads of fresh troops and war materials of the latest type. Compact masses of foreign troops under the High Commands of Italy and Germany are making some advances in their mad invasion of our country. Our towns and cities are being destroyed as the hellish hurricane storms on, leaving behind it the marks of German Kultur and Italian Christianity. Wanton murders and ruins are left as typical characteristics of these modern Attilas. The democratic governments must be guided by some dark and secret motives to endure the dictates of their worthy associates. Perhaps that is a part of their political platforms.

We Spaniards are perfectly aware of the odds we are up against. We know the part played by the gentlemen of the Foreign Office and of the English premier in this bloody affair. The so-called champions of the "square deal" could easily add to their slogans a new motto—"We are masters in art of double crossing." We know of the prig's intentions in regard to free Spain professed by the hypocritical lackeys of the pound sterling, and, as we know that the British lion is licking the heels of international financiers, we do not believe at all in the crocodile tears shed by Mr. Chamberlain when the nightmare of our dead women and children comes to disturb his after-lunch rest.

We may be weak in opposing with effective resistance the enormous resources of the powers which strive to make a colony of our country, but in spite of having been denied the use of every international right to defend ourselves, we have so far proved that we are not to be easily defeated. Our history is full of examples showing how deeply rooted is our will to be independent and master of our destiny. The bravery of our forefathers forms a part of our heritage, and to defend the integrity of our country every Spaniard is a soldier and every soldier will rather die than be subjugated under the yoke of an invader. Our boys at the Aragon front allow themselves to be smashed by the fascist tanks rather than retreat an inch to save their lives. They are holding their ground at all costs.

Great is our tragedy! Incalculable are the losses we have suffered since this nefarious war was brought upon us by the traitorous generals who plotted it with their fascist masters. But we do not mourn, although the wounds we bear are deep and painful. We have no time to mourn. All our energy is needed to resist our foes and die without whimpering rather than be enslaved.

The vandals of the swastika and the black shirts, invaders of Abyssinia and Austria, may after all, be able to add the whole of Spain to their territorial possessions, but this infamy will not be achieved unless they wipe out the Span of the Spaniards, and how difficult that will be is proved by the fact that Madrid still holds its own in spite of the many times that its inevitable fall was broadcasted throughout the world. Also Guadalajara continues inflicting severe losses on Mussolini's selected soldiery, who are running, panic stricken, to save their lives, as they did before. It has been thoroughly demonstrated that it is not an easy task to conquer a country which, like Spain, has decided to be free.

We are not by any means the Spain of "toreadores and majas" of which touring agencies carry so much propaganda in the past for commercial purposes. We have in our country the remains of castles of an ancient nobility which will come back no more. Many beautiful churches of a corrupted clergy, partially destroyed by the bombardments in the name of God, remain yet in the four corners of Spain as testimony of legendary and recent horrors perpetrated by fanatic inquisitors. We have to contend against the combined forces of darkness as represented by a reactionary church, the rankness of a decaying nobility and the murderous instincts of a depraved, modern, cold-blooded, military machine.

We were endeavoring to achieve our development quite slowly and to evolve peacefully into a new progressive state, when the damnation of this war was launched at our heads. Our people were tired of darkness and oppression, hungry for bread and thirsty for knowledge, and we were devising ways and means to satisfy our long felt wants. We hate war, for we know that war means destruction, misery, and many steps backwards in the path of progress, but we cannot afford to deliver ourselves up meekly to be ruled by two fanatic maniacs who dream of becoming the Emperors of the world. Against that we must fight! We will fight to the very last! Perhaps the working class of the world may awake from its lethargy and, conscious of the danger which threatens it, will come to our aid with its invincible power and save us in this hour of extreme need.

We will hold the fort and die in it, if necessary! For Liberty's Sake!

—C.N.T.-F.A.I. INFORMATION BULETIN

A Blocked Revolution

"When a man becomes a Minister," said a syndicalist delegate, "he ceases to be an Anarchist. There is a Stake for the Minister: the war and not the revolution. A Minister can serve a war, but it is materially impossible for him to serve a revolution."

We are realists who refuse to dwell upon the dusted texts of death. Anarchists of tried experience, with precise doctrines, give here the logic of facts. The Anarchist rejects all centralized and authoritarian systems of society, revolutionary politics, and State administration as a means by which economic and social freedom can be attained. The elementary truth being that in life everything is centered around production, consumption and freedom. Consequently we, the libertarian communists, have the following formula:

- All production to the syndicates.
- All apportionment to the Cooperatives.
- All administration to the Communes.

Our Spanish comrades, in more or less collaboration with republicans and socialists, took part in the ascension of the Spanish Republic. The Syndicalist-Anarchists joined the Popular Front in order to get rid of dictatorship, abolish monarchy, help the freeing of thousands of prisoners, and clear the way for the revolution. The Spanish Syndicalist-Anarchists seemed to be the best fitted for the expected action; all others were really too old for the hope of a NEW WORLD; they were unable to understand anything, and instead of serving the Spanish Republic they choked it.

Now the Anarchist Defeat: Truths About Spain.

Today the Spanish Syndicalist-Anarchists explain their recoil from the revolutionary plan by their decision not to impose their will by force against sectors who opposed the expropriation. The generosity of such an argument is seductive, but does not stand analysis. Even the observing Marxians have authenticated the fact that the Syndicalist-Anarchists had, at the same time, the numerical power and the attractive force to rally 85% of the workers. They also have ascertained that the remainder of the anti-fascist opinion was composed of middle-class bourgeoisie, always irreducible opponents of collectivization. Thus, neither in theory nor in practice was there any question or rallying to a revolutionary coalition elements that are, and always have been, in principle and action, absolutely opposed to it. Unable to gather them, and unwilling to crush them, the Syndicalist-Anarchists rallied themselves to the democratic bourgeoisie.

The commanding officer of the notorious Anarchist second division declared, in accordance with all leaders of the movement, that "the intervention of foreign countries has transformed the revolution into a war of independence and that Anarchists would take part in the national defense."

The Syndicalist-Anarchists have ignored the importance of the expropriation problem and have thus been powerless in applying its principles. They sincerely believed that the collectivization of industries and land would be enough to give them unlimited social power. According to their plan Syndicalism was sufficient for everything because it could organize the apportionment through offices directly placed under its administrative authority. If Syndicalism had been able to organize simultaneously the expropriation of capitalism and the services of communist apportionment, the expropriation would have been complete, and the libertarian commune would have been realized by the absolute power of the masses over EVERYTHING. The clumsy mistake of our comrades was that they did not understand that the syndicalization of production can only be sustained by the cooperative organization of consumers.

In Spain, exchanges were entirely in the hands of the middle classes. The workers had hardly started the cooperative movement; they lacked the knowledge and material technique which could have served the direct organization of apportionment. Trusting in their own strength the Syndicalists did not bother with a—secondary service—that could always be organized in the future. Their elementary psychology did not understand that the masses' creative power is greater and more fertile when resting upon economic embryonic organizations whose development assures the gradual and full blossoming of social power. The Syndicalists had to organize the apportionment themselves or start a system of consumers' associations which soon would have realized the communist apportionment by the economic appropriation of business and exchanges. They did not do it because it was neither in their principles nor in their plan. Their failure has maintained the middle-class in their privileges; the capitalist exploitation of the latter has been camouflaged by a kind of—social service. And in reality this middle class has used their prevailing economic role to apply the brakes to revolutionary dealings. And they succeeded for the reason that those who held the apportionment, in reality, possessed the political power. Where there is no plan of consumption elaborated by consumers, production can only realize approximate necessities.

Syndicates and Cooperatives are revolutionary necessities. Their association regulate their reciprocal relations and functions; the local and general administration of society is realized by their confederation.

Agrarian Collectivization.

Where, as for instance in Aragon, the apportionment, by its simplicity, was similar to exchange, where the agglomerations only consisted of a few homes, villages, and fields, the expropriation was complete.

However the peasants have not demonstrated their ideological superiority; they found themselves under such conditions that the collective organization of production could only be obtained by the communist normalization of apportionment. It is this distribution of agricultural products that led the country people into the Syndicalization of production. They could not act otherwise. The triumph of the Aragonian collectivization is nothing else than the triumph of apportionment which entails agrarian expropriation.

In Aragon, for the present, Syndicalism is sufficient for everything so long as the apportionment remains a primitive activity that does not require special service. But where the density of the population lends a distinct character to the apportionment, Syndicalism, wanting to fulfill every function, has deprived itself of the help of a relative organism whose creation and swift development will inevitably give control of everything to the masses, in a word, will give them social power.

The Fear of Power.

Our comrades did not know their economic strength; not how they could seize the social power. They were under the influence of the Marxian theory which says: "Where you do not have political power all economic conquests are illusory." This nefarious influence paralyzed the economic defensive of the Spanish Anarchists.

The F.A.I.* have neither stipulated, nor described where to place the apportionment, or how its organization would function; consequently they left it entirely to the State. Indeed, everything amounts to this: where expropriation is not the aim and inspiration of production, where this organism is not the motive power and the objective case of the Syndicalization, where the Confederation of Cooperatives and Syndicates does not realize the whole social power, i. e., one complete administration, THE STATE remains.

Libertarian economy has for its task to realize, by economic means, the communist apportionment of wealth. The collectivization of production must be sustained by the cooperative organization of consumers. Where the latter are not organized they remain a vast territory covered with economic oppositions in which the capitalist exchange maintains both the State and its sway over individuals. The exchange represents the maintenance of the middle class, speculative capitalism, value, and repression, in a word, it maintains the State in all its ramifications.

On the other hand the communist expropriation takes away from the State all its means of existence. These ideas are so true that our comrades, unable to find the economic solution, came about by successive self-denials and political corruption, to ask the State for an economic-political plan that would place the Syndicalist production in the inevitable frame of State Capitalism. From these facts originated their Ministerial collaboration and participation in a government that was not "totalitarian" but amounting to a proletarian or semi-proletarian State.

General Consequences of Self-Denial.

The Syndicalist-Anarchists have held in their hands the fate of the Spanish revolution, and with it, the lot of the European revolution. If they had known and dared, the foreign capitalist intervention would have massively taken place in imperialist oppositions that would have set up against each other nations which at present have a sufficient understanding to strangle the social revolution. By direct contamination and sympathy the revolution would have swallowed Europe; it would have been a social war, the true war of classes. They had the number, quality and strength. In spite of Russia they had all the European masses in back of them, an enthusiastic proletariat compelled to affirm their revolutionary solidarity if they were directly forced to participate in the crushing of the social revolution.

Our comrades were not able. They did not dare. The triple understanding between Russia, France and England conquered them.

Today the Spanish revolution is dead. It is only a forward movement to a European war of imperialism. The Syndicalist-Anarchist defeat, the defeat of the social revolution has liberated the democracies from the fear of class war. The worked up and deceived masses are in the same spirit as our comrades "fighting for a war of independence!"

The Sacred Union carries the world towards BARBARISM.

(Translated by Jules Scarceriaux from "L'Espagne Nouvelle")
*Iberian Anarchist Federation—EDITOR

WE ARE THE 1938 REFUGEES FROM NEVADA COUNTY (CALIFORNIA)

We are the men, women and children who have been driven from Nevada County.

We have been beaten. We have been driven from our homes and from our jobs.

WE HAVE HOMES. We are residents of Nevada County, but we cannot live there. Some of us have jobs, but we cannot work at them.

We have children. But our children cannot go to school.

You will probably ask WHY WE DO NOT GO BACK TO NEVADA COUNTY.

We cannot go back. Nevada county is in the hands of a lawless mob. We would be beaten and driven out again. We can get no protection from the local authorities in Nevada County. The Sheriff of Nevada County, Carl Tobiasen, is part and parcel of this "vigilante" movement.

LAW AND ORDER ARE BANKRUPT IN NEVADA COUNTY.

We can only return to Nevada County if we are given protection. That is why we are here.

We are asking of the Governor of California, and of the other State Authorities, that we be given this protection. Protection not only to return to Nevada County, but protection to stay there.

Under the laws of the United States and of California we have the right to live in our homes and work at our jobs.

WE DEMAND THAT GOVERNOR MERRIAM GIVE US ADEQUATE PROTECTION IN ORDER THAT WE CAN EXERCISE THESE RIGHTS.

Issued by: THE REFUGEE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF NEVADA COUNTY.

WHAT CAUSED THIS DARKEST OF ALL MAY DAYS?

May the First—once the day of Hope and Reckoning for the Dawn of Social Justice—never looked dimmer and as far off—than it has in this year of 1938!

Gone has the time when the very advance of May the First threw into fear and consternation every institution of injustice. Gone with it has also the spirit of Rebellion that the very thought of May the First always awakened within the minds of the world's oppressed.

The exploiters and rulers everywhere never felt themselves as secure and arrogant as they do today.

What brought about such a dramatic change and tragical, temporary end to the spirit of what once was known as May the First?

The First and Second International

The change and temporary end cannot be appraised as a sudden occurrence. It has been rather a gradual and constant transformation that went on for scores of years. It must be traced way back to that time and period when the First of May came to infer and prophesy the death-knell of exploitation and rulership. It was the period in Labor's history when the First International was at its peak in spirit of solidarity as well as in action. It was in the 1870's.

But, alas! That grand spirit was not to last very long.

One of the main spirits within the First International, namely, Karl Marx, had conceived the idea of bringing in *compromise*, via political action, as one of the methods by which the oppressed will hasten in bringing about their emancipation.

The first immediate and disastrous result was Marx's achievement in bringing about the death of the First International, since he failed to obtain its major support for his new political-action idea. It was a breach within the ranks of the class-conscious and liberty-striving groups that resulted in nothing but the sowing of hatred and disharmony as every historian fully attested to ever since. The wings, so to speak, of the menacing rebellious and awakened oppressed, was clipped.

The division between the political school of socialism (marxism) and its revolutionary counterpart of non-political socialism (anarchism) set in and remained permanent to this very day.

After many years of valiant efforts, the Marxian followers succeeded in bringing to life a new International, known as the Second Socialist International. The road of compromise which is the essence of political action, gained the support of the oppressed in many parts throughout the world. Counting in votes alone, the Second Socialist International had millions of adherents, just as it could count hundreds of representatives in the parliaments of France and Germany, and more than as many in smaller official capacities. In short, the Second Socialist International was to all general appearances on a triumphant march.

The 1914-1918 World War brought the triumphant march not only to a swift and abrupt end, but, equally so, it brought a shattering to pieces of the very foundation of the Second International. For, with but rare exceptions, the moving spirits of the Second Socialist International turned overnight into jingoistic patriots. The true interests of the world's oppressed was thereby betrayed outright. In turn, it sealed the fate of the Second Socialist International.

The death of the Second Socialist International was loudly proclaimed by no one more forceful than by those within its own ranks: the arisen Bolshevik movements throughout the world, following upon the latter's capturing the reigns of the State in Russia.

The Third International

It was the triumphant Bolshevik State in Russia that gave birth to the Third Communist International. The new born International proclaimed to the world that it will serve as the vanguard of the oppressed, it will make no compromises with capitalism and vowing to remain true to every revolutionary conception. Some of its adherents even attempted to create the impression that this new International was not a child of the Second Socialist International but of the very First International.

If the Third Communist International did succeed (and it certainly did to a great extent) to arouse the confidence of the oppressed and to gain support from them it nevertheless failed to convince the anarchist movement of its sincerity of motives.

The anarchist press pointed at the very first compromise in Brest-Litovsk as the strongest proof of the fact that the Bolsheviks of Russia are but stepchildren of the Second Socialist International. The leopard certainly did not, for it could not, change its spots. Further substantiating proof as to this came in the secret brutal

On May Day

Emblazoned o'er the world,
Fiery letters of martyred gore
Reflect a class-struggle war.
Like a song of life they shine
To the tramp of workers' feet, your and mine
With brave determination workers march,
And as they march, they dream
Of the world to come,
The new free light that will beam,
And marching onward, forward, progressively,
They sing their song in mighty refrain
Of the world to come, the things to be.

H. Mathews

assassination by the Bolshevik Government of one of the greatest modern teachers of anarchism in Russia, Lev Tehorny and ten other anarchist comrades in September 1921. The double-cross dealings perpetrated by the same Government upon the Makhnovtze (anarchists) in the Ukraine in 1922 was still further proof as to the duplicity that Marxian disciples are capable of.

And what the Bolshevik regime perpetrated upon the sincere Communist sailors of Kronstadt in 1922 has now become part of the tragical history of the Russian revolution. This indefensible blood-bath was but a prophesy of the purges and trials that the future Teheka would inflict upon thousands of known and unknown dissenting brethren marxists from within its own ranks, even upon the very leading officials who were responsible for the extermination of the anarchists and of the Communist sailors of Kronstadt. These officials were to reap later the harvest of their own Frankenstein creation. For, power and intolerance, hatred and suppression can only breed treachery and assassination as well as judicial murder.

Italy, Germany, Ethiopia, China and Spain

But this is not all that was to happen to the newly ill-fated Third Communist International. The road of compromise upon which it has embarked, its ignoble career has spread out to many fields, wide and afar. And, as always, every one of its compromises was followed by acts of duplicity, in so far as the true interests of the oppressed were concerned.

In 1920 Lenin ordered the Italian Communists not to lift a finger in aid of the revolution that the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists were inspiring the Italian masses to. (Thus, Benito Mussolini has more reasons than one to offer thanks to Lenin.)

The disastrous putch-maneuvres of the Third Communist International in Germany ended in the Communist's actual paving of the way for the maniac Hitler to rise to power.

Yes, it is at the door of marxian tactics that the blackest scourge of the twentieth century—fascism and nazism—must be placed.

Then came the case of Ethiopia. Within the League of Nations, the Bolshevik Litvinov shouted for justice and righteousness. Outside of its fold, his own Bolshevik State was supplying oil with which the Italian fascists were enabled to invade and conquer Ethiopia in such a short period of time.

Following Ethiopia came Spain. Months of silence and indifference ensued before a word of protest came from the Bolshevik State in behalf of Spain. Even arms could not be bought from them by the legitimate government. And when arms were finally sold, it was for cold cash plus the almost unbelievable, but nevertheless true, stipulation of remodelling the army and Government of Spain to suit the bureaucratic regime of Russia! The resultant effect of this "bargain" was the assassination of such anarchists as Berneri, revolutionists as Nin, and the imprisonment of no less than fifteen thousand of the truest and staunchest revolutionary elements of the anarchist and other social movements. (In face of this "achievement" need one yet wonder as to why the bastard Franco has succeeded in inflicting such a series of prolonged massacres upon the Spanish people? . . .)

In war-stricken China, the Marxian Third Communist International has enacted another of its many dishonorable feats. Instead of urging on and inspiring the masses of China to utilize the Japanese invasions upon the Chinese rulers as the opportune moment for ending the murderous and oppressive rulership at home, it ordered its Chinese adherents to form a "people's front" with the very brutal hangmen of thousands of Chinese revolutionists.

And whilst speaking of "people's fronts", it should not be forgotten how the Communists of France aided to keep the Socialist Leo Blum in power, and, who, in turn, betrayed outright the interests of the people of Spain by supporting (as he did, and the Russian regime still does) British imperialism's infamous "non-intervention" set-up.

Third International's Role in the Forthcoming World War

The world as it is being ruled and exploited today is everywhere but an armed camp. Each government is outdoing the other in armaments. We are, in fact, nearer to a new world war with every passing day. The entire future conflict is to be waged for the combined supremacy of the money war lords of England, France and the United States or the ascendancy and world triumph of fascism. Every true revolutionist would in such a situation not only come forth to utter "a plague on both your houses"—but also start sounding the alarm for

the mobilization of the world's oppressed to answer the forthcoming world-war declaration by ringing calls for the beginning of the social revolution. But instead of this what do we witness when looking close at the would-be saviours of the world's oppressed—the Third Communist International?

Under the deceitful phrase of "collective security" British Imperialism, French and American plutocracy have already raised the hypocritical flag under which the people of these countries will be ordered to the battlefields for slaughtering the people of fascist ridden countries. It is this humbug-fraternity that the Bolshevik adherents throughout the world have now joined bare-facedly and unashamed. What Woodrow Wilson did for plutocracy in 1917 under the shield of "making the world safe for democracy", the adherents of the Third Communist International are doing today in behalf of the very same plutocracy by rallying to the "collective security" hoax.

The defense of the bolshevik elements centers around the claim that Russia wants to have peace at any price, and that by supporting the "collective security" bluff it will aid in achieving this, as well as in retaining an anti-fascist front. First, no government that prepares for war can truly aim at security, and this applies to Russia as well. Second, the action of Leo Blum towards Spain, the similar action of deceit by Roosevelt (allowing arms for Japan and China but not to loyalist Spain), and the recent secret agreement between British imperialism and fascist Italy—all those three facts give the full lie to the Bolshevik apologists.

Trotsky's Fourth International

Leon Trotsky, having paved the way for his own exile by creating the very sort of a machine bureaucracy that was meting out similar treatment to dissenters when he was one of the leading spirits of the Bolshevik State in Russia, has now founded a Fourth Worker's International. Whatever the Third Communist International had to charge the Second Socialist International with, Trotsky and his Fourth International now charges the Third with. *But what assurance can Trotsky, himself still a marxian, give to the world's oppressed that his Fourth International will not repeat the treacheries of the Second and Third International—both self-avowed adherents of marxism?*

Whatever assurance Trotsky may be willing to offer, even in full sincerity, will nevertheless prove of no avail. Why? For the sole reason that at the bottom of the failures and betrayals of both the Second and the Third International lies the cause of marxian tactics and ideologies. With the sincerest of motives one can still commit the worst sort of fatal blunders. And the whole political philosophy of marxism is the greatest of all blunders. Whosoever adopts its tenets is doomed in the end to face the very same sort of disastrous results as we have been witnessing throughout the world.

The Outlook for the Future

The picture of the state of affairs that has been outlined herein is dark indeed. Terribly dark for a May-Day article. But just because of May-Day a true evaluation is that much the more necessary. The Anarchist movement has sanctified May-Day with the blood of its best: our executed comrades of Chicago in 1887. And ever since then the oppressed have been paying a huge toll in following not upon the road that our brave comrades died for: the road of uncompromising revolutionary action, but that of marxian ideology: political action.

On this blackest and gloomiest of all May-Days since the 1870's the oppressed need to realize the costly lesson that they have been engaged in: the lesson of the disasters that marxian ideologies have brought upon them.

In realizing the lesson the oppressed will have to conclude that not a Fourth or Fortieth Marxian International can bring about their Social and Political liberation. No party or individual can or ever will accomplish this impossible feat.

The only power and force that can still bring about emancipation are the oppressed themselves. And the path they will have to follow is the one of no compromise, the road of the Social Revolution. A social revolution that will not allow the maintenance of any system of exploitation or rulership of man over fellowman is the only safe guarantee that the May-Day hope and dream of true liberation will have at last set in for the oppressed of the world.

It is to such a Future Renewal of the old May-Day Spirit that we labor and look forward to, and bid all the world's oppressed to do likewise.

Marcus Graham

Inequality is the creator of revolution, for it is beyond compensation.

—ARISTOTLE

MAN!

A Monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: \$1.00 per year, 6 months-50c Sample Copies Free Upon Request.

MAN! invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, prose, poems, and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address

MAN!

P. O. Box 971

Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

Pro-Anarchist Publications

CHALLENGE, weekly, \$2.00 a year. Station D, Box 177, New York City.

SPAIN and the WORLD, fortnightly, \$1.25 a year. 21 Frith Street, London, W.1, England.

SPANISH REVOLUTION, fortnightly, \$1.00 a year. 45 W. 17 Street, New York City.

VANGUARD, appears 4-6 times a year. \$1.00 for twelve issues. 45 W. 17 Street, New York City.

FOUR YEARS GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION OF 'MAN!'

President Roosevelt has often appeared as upholding the principle of Freedom of the Press, and on March 25, 1938 he came forward to declare that since 1789 the United States served as an asylum for political refugees from all over the world, and that he intends to continue leaving it as a haven for political dissenters.

It is in the face of this pretentious position that we bring forward the case of the more than four years persecution of MAN!, and of the 19 year-old persecution of its editor, Marcus Graham, as the most formidable challenge of the sincerity of President Roosevelt's presumptuous position as a defender of Freedom of Thought and of the Freedom of the Press.

Let anyone should think for one moment that the persecution of MAN! and of its editor are but sole exceptions (and even if they were, they would still damn President Roosevelt's position as hypocritical), the record of the Labor Department for the last six years reveals an unabated series of persecutions inflicted upon workers who dared to strike for better conditions, and of idealists who dared to give expression to ideas of a new social order in place of the present one.

The ordeals that the publication MAN! has had to undergo during the last four years, out of its more than five years of existence, forms in itself a chapter in the struggle for human liberty. That it should befall an Anarchist organ, and of its editor, to be singled out for this attack in a country of over 130 million human beings, and that is being ruled for the last five years by a self-styled "liberal" and "new deal" Government, is likewise something that should arouse the deepest interest of every true lover of liberty.

MAN! Makes Its Appearance

In the month of January 1933 an eight page (tabloid form) monthly publication made its appearance in the city of San Francisco, California. It was entitled with the significant but simple name of MAN! (A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement). It carried no kind of paid advertisement. It likewise carried no subscription price. In its first issue MAN! stated:

In making the initial appearance MAN! offers no programs, platforms or palliatives on any of the social issues confronting mankind. . . . MAN! has and shall have ideas to place before those who are willing to face the truth, and act for themselves. If it aims at anything at all—it is for Man to regain confidence in himself, in his own great power to achieve liberation from every form of enslavement that now encircles him. . . . Every social question will be met consistently, without offering any quarter to compromise, the doom of so many ideals and idealists.

Subscription to MAN! is free to all individuals and libraries. . . . MAN! intends to subsist solely upon what the readers find it worth. Its continued appearance as a monthly will depend upon the support given voluntarily by the readers. . . . MAN! ought to interest the readers to the extent of making possible its appearance. If it does not succeed to accomplish this, it will have failed to win for itself the right to exist.

How close MAN! has lived up to its initial bow is attested to by the unabated persecution it has been subjected to at the hands of the authorities. In fulfilling its moral aim, MAN! proved that even in a commercial-riden land as is the United States, a true idealistic publication can subsist without advertisements or a set subscription price.

MAN! never became a sectarian, mere propaganda organ, although remaining true to the principles of Anarchy upon which it was founded. Within its pages are to be found the most varied subject matter on social, literary and health subjects that can compare with any English publication of other movements. Its monthly Art and Literature page has brought forward some new striking essays, poets and short-story writers. Its discussion page is the freest to be found in any radical or liberal publication.

It is the very spirit of freedom with which every issue of MAN! has been imbued that aroused the fury and hatred of the supposedly "servants of the people", but in reality—its oppressors and rulers—the officials of the United States Government.

Government's Attack Upon MAN! Begins

The Governments attack upon MAN! through various parts of the country began in April 1934. The attack was begun in the middle of the night of April 11 when Immigration officials entered the private residences of Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto placing both under arrest, and without even as much as a search warrant, ransacked their homes. Both men owned a small restaurant at 1000 Jefferson Street, Oakland, California. They rented out floor and office space to the Whitmore and Swan Department Store, the Backus Distributing Company, and to the editor of MAN!.

Ferrero and Sallitto were both charged with being alien anarchists since their sole "crime", as the transcripts of the hearings given to them reveal, consists in their having rented out office space to MAN!. (To this "evidence", as revealed in the transcripts, we shall return soon.) One of the immigration officials who had participated in their arrest acted as judge and prosecuting attorney—behind closed doors. He forthwith recommended their being handed over to Fascist Italy, where their lives would be jeopardized.

Luckily for Ferrero and Sallitto, a nation-wide protest by the liberty-loving elements of this country forced the "servants of the people"—the authorities—to dismiss the deportation proceedings against Sallitto, and to halt the deportation of Ferrero.

Subsequent to the arrest of Ferrero and Sallitto, part of the premises rented to the editor of MAN! were raided twice by the Immigration officials and the police. A

How You Can Help Fight Our Persecution

As an individual or Group you can forward protests to the Secretary of Labor, Miss Francis Perkins, Washington, D. C., demanding that the 19 year-old deportation warrant against Marcus Graham, editor of MAN!, should be cancelled. (We will appreciate receiving copies of all protests forwarded.)

Write also to the daily and weekly press, giving a complete outline of the case and mainly, urging that protests be sent to the Secretary of Labor with the same demand already suggested.

The proposed nation-wide series of protest meetings have already met with an enthusiastic response from Chicago, Detroit, New York City, Washington and many other cities. These meetings will begin in September at Los Angeles. Marcus Graham will address all protest meetings.

Since the principle issue of the case is the one of Freedom of the Press, every Newspaper Guild, every literary society should be interested in coming forward to sponsor such protest meetings. Other liberal and radical Groups, as well as individuals are equally urged to aid in the sponsoring and arranging of such meetings.

Preparations for the immediate publication of the pamphlet "Defenders of Freedom of Thought Throughout the Ages" are about completed. Only sufficient funds are still urgently needed, and if you have not as yet contributed toward this fund, you are invited to do so at once.

All correspondence re-protest meeting arrangements, our general work, and funds towards the publishing of the pamphlet, should be addressed to the:

MARCUS GRAHAM FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE

P. O. Box 971 — Los Angeles, Calif., U. S. A.

mimeograph machine belonging to MAN! was smashed-up, and even a sealed box of crayons sent through the mails was broken open. At both raids—the editor of MAN!, Marcus Graham, was not even present.

Blackmail Methods Used by the Government

During the same week of April 1934 agents of the Labor Department visited readers in various parts of the country. In some instances readers were officially ordered to appear at the immigration offices. Every reader was questioned for hours, as to one's relation, if any, with the publication of MAN!, or with its editor. Photographs of the editor were shown to most of those who were questioned. Warnings of deportation proceedings were given to each, urging upon all to desist from any further reading of MAN! or of subscribing to it. (It was in order to protect our alien readers who, according to the immigration laws do have a "legal" right to subscribe to an anarchist publication, that MAN! was forced to change its non-subscription price to that of a regular subscription one.)

In the city of San Francisco, agents of the Immigration department visited the Labor College in order to obtain information as to who had rented the main hall for the debate on March 25, 1934 on the subject as to whether Marinus Van der Lubbe, the 24 year old Dutch Communist, who took the full blame for setting fire to the Reichstag—and paid for it with his life—was an agent of the Nazis or a Revolutionist. The reason for the Government's interest was the participation in this debate of Marcus Graham, as editor of MAN!, who defended Van der Lubbe as a Revolutionist.

The Jack London Guild of San Francisco, a dramatic organization that staged plays for labor organizations freely, was likewise visited. The reason: it had on several occasions produced plays for the benefit of MAN!, and the editor, Marcus Graham, had given a lecture at the Open Forum that the Guild held every Friday.

When the General Office of the American Civil Liberties Union filed protests with the Labor Department against this sort of blackmailing campaign of intimidation upon MAN! and its editor, the late U. S. Commissioner, Col. McCormick, pleaded ignorance as to who had given orders for this nation-wide concerted campaign, promising to put a stop to it. The Commissioner never made known as to what he "found" out, and for a short time it seemed as though the campaign of intimidation had ceased.

But it had not. In July 1935 some of the same immigration officials that participated in the arrest of Ferrero and Sallitto "visited" the premises where the Secretary of the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Committee was receiving mail. The two men found there, were questioned for hours, and the house was ransacked, again—without any search warrant. When a protest was filed by the attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington, an "investigation" was promised. The result was: the chief raider himself forwarded a "report". We shall quote a few choice excerpts from this "report", as follows:

Information was received to the effect that alien anarchists were making their headquarters at 590 Duncan Street; (1) this city, and on the morning of July 3rd, accompanied by Guard John D. Coffman, I proceeded to that address and found there two aliens. . . . Warning was given according to general instructions received from your office. . . . They took an active part in the search, leading us from room to room, opening bureau drawers and entering clothes closets that had escaped our observation and showing the place to us so that the search would be thorough. . . . I informed them that persons

(1) This was the address where the Secretary of the Ferrero-Sallitto Auxiliary Defense Committee was receiving his mail.—EDITOR.

who were not naturalized citizens of the United States had to be extremely careful about getting mixed up in radical activities as under our laws while it was all right for a citizen . . . to be an anarchist or a communist, the fact that an alien was a member of either . . . made him subject to deportation . . . I also mentioned . . . that several aliens in this city for whom this Service could not secure a passport, were actively engaged in organizing anarchist (2) and communist groups. . . . In fact, I mentioned Marcus Graham as a person who was immune from the immigration laws by reason of the fact that a passport could not be secured for him and who knowingly involved other people who were aliens in an enterprise which eventually resulted in warrants of deportation being issued and I mentioned the cases of Sallitto and Ferrero. . . . I had no knowledge at the time of the investigation that a protest meeting had been held in San Francisco on July 2nd. The fact that an investigation was made on the day after the meeting was purely accidental—Inspector P. J. Farrelly.

No stronger indictment could be penned against the blackmail methods of intimidation that the agents of the Department of Labor prove themselves guilty of; then is contained in the above "report".

Arrest of Marcus Graham directed at Destroying MAN!

The arrest of the editor of MAN! on October 6, 1937 only brought the campaign of persecution against MAN! more directly out in the open. The avowed purpose could no longer be hidden: the aim to strangle MAN!. The chief reason now given by the Labor Department, in re-opening the 19 year-old outstanding warrant of deportation against Graham states:

"The alien is now, and has for a considerable period, been the editor of a publication named 'Man!', published in San Francisco, which publication is issued as a 'Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement'. Copies of this publication are now with the Central Office's files in the case."

The ordeals of Marcus Graham for the last nineteen years has but one parallel, and that only in the sphere of fiction: Jean Valjean in Victor Hugo's immortal "Les Miserables". Still, there is even in the novel a striking dissimilarity between the character of Jean Valjean and that of Marcus Graham. Jean Valjean was the hounded man of the "law upholders"—who had once Committed what society terms as a crime. But Marcus Graham has never been charged with any kind of an overt crime—except the one of having thoughts of his own, and of having had the courage to dare in expressing these in print and oral deliveries. (His talk in Court on January 14, 1938 before being sentenced to prison for "contempt" gives more details of his life-activities and ordeals. (3) Graham's ordeals add but another chapter in the long and unceasing struggle of man for the inalienable right of Freedom of Thought and the Freedom of Expression.

What MAN! is Guilty Of

An examination of the transcripts of the hearings given to Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto (the printed record in the case of Ferrero occupies no less than 147 pages) reveals that three fourths of the space is taken up with excerpts from various articles that have appeared in MAN!. Since we do not hold that anything that has appeared in the pages of MAN! is of a criminal nature, it would therefore prove of interest to now bring forth some of the choice excerpts that the authorities do consider as criminal (although they never had the courage and honesty to bring criminal charges against the editor of MAN! or against any of its collaborators)—since they used these against both Ferrero and Sallitto. We herewith give some of these excerpts, as follows:

The Governments can only exist so long as the masses submit and pay tribute to them in the form of taxation. The rich are allowed to institute all sorts of fraudulent schemes, to cheat and rob, to lie and covet, to grab and hold the wealth coined out of the sweat of the brow, flesh and blood of the toilers in factories, mines and on the soil, as from the death and wounded in wars. For the robbed and wronged masses it is even unlawful to partake of the products that they have themselves produced with the aid of nature! . . . The wronged and exploited can only end their misery when they begin to realize that no power on earth except themselves are capable of bringing this about. To achieve this the State must die. IT CAN DIE AT THE VERY MOMENT WHEN THE MASSES BEGIN TO STOP HEEDING ITS LAWS OR SUBMITTING TO ITS IMPOSED TAXATIONS! — From an editorial, July, 1933.

The Anarchists aim to abolish the State as an institution inherently inimical to freedom, and substitute a system wherein everyone will be equal in opportunities from the time of his or her birth, where there will be no class enjoying more privilege than the rest and where everyone will be free to cooperate in the best manner for which he is fitted for the welfare of the community and his own self. Thus, voluntary mutual help becomes the guardian of freedom and justice.—From an article by Maximilian Olaj, July 1933.

The Anarchist press has come forward to defend and vindicate the deeds and name of Marinus Van der Lubbe—although he was a Communist—because, as Anarchists, we are not out to exploit or rule over anyone, and are therefore ready at all times to extend a fraternal hand to every revolutionist whose deeds and courage tend to arouse and to aid in bringing nearer the Dawn of Liberation by Revolutionary deeds.—From an article by Marcus Graham, February, 1934.

The methods of the people will be much more in accordance with science than those of the economists who draw so many distinctions between instruments of production and articles of consumption. The people understand that this is just the point where the revolution ought to begin; and they will lay the foundations of the only economic science worthy of the name—a science which might be called; "The Study of the Needs of Humanity, and of the Economic Means to satisfy them."—From an article by Peter Kropotkin, February, 1934.

An excursion thru any of the historical cycles will show that the individual deed of revolt is a phenomenon necessarily intermediate, between the bare, ideal or theoretical affirmation and the insurrectional movement following the

(2) The International Group that initiated the founding of MAN! was in existence many years before Marcus Graham ever came to live in San Francisco.—EDITOR.

(3) See January, 1938 issue of MAN!—EDITOR.

CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties. —JOHN MILTON

Encouraging Words

Dear Marcus Graham:

Very glad to hear from you. I have been intending to write you for a long time, but delayed because I hoped to be able to eventually send you a little financial assistance in your splendid fight against the evil forces of the world. So far, however, I have been unable to send you anything to help keep MAN! going. Perhaps some day I can do so. I certainly hope so.

As I have written before, I am always very glad to receive a copy of MAN!. I realize what a task it is to you to keep it going, I know the opposition that you are up against. I am glad that you contrive to keep it coming out, and I hope that you can continue to do so. I wish that you were receiving more material support. All who care anything about liberty should rally to your's and MAN!'s support.

Best personal wishes to you, Marcus Graham, and high hopes for the continuance of your fine publication, MAN!.

MATT SLAY

Machinery and Organization

Dear Comrade:

Although the appearance and the general tenure of the paper are continually improving, I disagree with your attitude towards machinery—and also your dogmatically hostile attitude towards organization although it must be admitted that it has certain grave defects—but then on the other hand the problem that has been going on for the last thirty or forty years between the organization and anti-organization anarchists is rather puerile when one stops to consider that even the most rabid individualist theoreticians advocate some sort of "association" or other. And in my opinion the difference between "association" and "organization" is more apparent than real. In regard to your anti-machine attitude I believe it is unrealistic and "utopian" to believe that men will ever voluntarily abandon machinery and revert to the good old fashion back-breaking ways of production with its interminable long hours and lack of leisure. In my opinion machinery like everything else is an instrument that can be used for either the libertarian or the further enslavement of mankind. It is nothing else than something solely depending on the way it is used, for good or evil.

C. DE GIROLAMO

Suggests Dropping the Name Anarchist

My Dear Mr. Graham:

I have just received a sample copy of your magazine MAN!, and have perused same with some degree of pleasure, due chiefly to its principles of Free thought, pro-labor, and anti-Fascism, etc. Being thus devoted to the interests of the working classes the paper is no doubt a very good paper—except that a "monthly" is rather slow news for our speedy age.

However, the very term "Anarchist" is repellent to American ideas and ideals of government. Whether present-

deed itself, at which the torch of the victorious revolution will be lit. Like the unavoidable cross-road, it is what circumstances consent or command to be, above any of our predilections. You can execrate and repudiate it, but it will be like execrating lightning and earthquake: you will have to bear them.—From an article by Luigi Galleani, March, 1934.

Assassination, the bug-a-boo that all traducers of the anarchist idea and movement fall back upon every time, did not miss the zealous Government frame-up agents, as this excerpt from the printed transcripts (p. 72) shows:

The following is quoted from the article, "Roosevelt, the symbol of Shameless Wrong", Giuseppe, the implacable idealist. "The whole article praises Zangara for the 'Assassination of a Tyrant', as the article states in part,

"From the ghetto or pushcart comes the lowly champion of humanity and his assassination of a tyrant dramatizes the age-old struggle."

No intelligent sincere person can fail to note the striking difference between the impression that the distorters of the Government aim to create and the 23 worded sentence quotation! Falsehood number one: the article is entitled "Giuseppe Zangara" and not as they try to imply. Falsehood number two: Harold Preece, the author of the said article, (MAN!, March 1934) did not praise Zangara for the "assassination of a Tyrant"—but penned a literary study—explaining the background for such an act as Zangara committed: the present unjust society.

Such then, are in brief, the "criminal" thoughts that served as the basis for the attempt to exile Ferrero and Sallitto, for the attempt to intimidate readers of MAN!, for the renewed attempt to exile Marcus Graham upon an admittedly invalid 19 year-old deportation warrant, and for the chief aim of the Government: to bring about the strangulation of MAN!.

We Are Proud of our Stand

MAN!, its editor, and all those responsible for its close to six years of existence not only do not consider any of the excerpts brought forward by the authorities against Ferrero and Sallitto as criminal, but feel proud in being charged with the very uncompromising thoughts and stand taken by MAN! that we have just quoted.

If in the year of 1938—the taking of such a position is being considered a "criminal" offense, it emphasizes then that we still live in a criminal society which fully deserves every possible exposure, condemnation and ridicule.

The persecution of MAN! is but an honor-testament of the fulfillment of its undertaken tasks and responsibilities as an organ of the ideal—anarchy—wherein true Justice and Freedom should be the common natural order of things.

day Anarchism differs from that of 30 or 40 years ago makes little difference; the term "Anarchist" itself is sufficient to frighten true Americans. In fact, if I lived in any country other than America I would doubtless have the same idea about Anarchism.

I am 54 years of age, have seen Emma Goldman and heard her speak. I am also a World War Vet. I can read in at least four different languages. The world has not passed by without my notice.

Anarchism as I understand it is against most any form of organized government, particularly militarism. Now, I hate war, and I don't like militarism; but under present-day barbarism, religion, and extreme pageantry of capitalism it is necessary that nations unite and organize into a thorough fighting unit in order to oppose and to resist the common enemy. Even though capitalism be the common enemy we must fight in order to oppose the evils of capitalism. It is therefore WAR in either case. There is no getting around it. We may as well face the facts.

If reports from Spain are true, it is evident that Anarchists are partly to blame for Spain's weakness in not being fully organized to meet Franco's revolution. The Anarchist element held back, and are still holding back with little interest. If democracy or any form of government is not worthy of unity and organization it must and will fail. Consider the Communists in China. They sacrificed their Communist flag in order to help a united China fight the common enemy. It was a noble principle, the only principle. *

I am also a Freethinker, anti-Catholic and anti-Fascist, and I don't make any excuses about it either. I am somewhat opposed to the term "Atheism" because the name suggests a creed, as in the case of religion. Religious creeds are narrow and selfish. They build a fence around their little group and then dare somebody to jump over it. I demand

*—See article: "What Caused the Darkest of all May Days?" on Page Four.—EDITOR.

Religion and Business

Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another.

What is the use of discussing any defense of any religion? Mankind has invented many forms of prayers and remained breadless and peaceless—except, of course, in books of history, written by mentally perverted or well-fed people. No religion is going to give bread to any people—except, perhaps, to its priests. In this respect, modern politics have also become religion, sect, church, which also neither gives peace nor bread.

Religious disputants are like wrestlers fighting for a prize, after being fed by well-to-do people and trained or untrained to wrestle. A Catholic youth tried to convert me to his religion, saying that his church ideas are exactly like mine. I told him that my ideas are not akin to any religion or politics, since every religion or poli-

tics must encourage profits of business to be able to propagate itself and is, therefore, bound up inextricably with business.

No church can be founded without the help of money givers if it is not to be a failure and to get the money, it must ally itself with, fight for and encourage and support money givers, plundering expeditions (called business) as virtuous.

Vivekandanda once said that more blood has been shed for religion than for anything else.

A religion of peace therefore, there can never be. "Peace" means what I determine for you; otherwise, your head will go off!

We have seen during the last War the fate of the religion of the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ. Each side claimed that God was only on its own side and blessed the killers to kill. Napoleon was right when he said that God speaks at the mouth of the cannon. And, what was that War for? For profit and for profiteers out of which and by whom religious propaganda is supported. Only the poor, ignorant or fanatic fish take to a party for or against a particular religion or politics or sect.

Religion can explain anything in any way: Success or failure in plundering expeditions. All things are due, of course, to God's justice. Punishment and reward. Did not Gandhiji, himself, explain that the Bihar earthquake was due to the sins committed by certain higher caste Hindus on the Harijans, and that it was a just visitation?

If a plunderer succeeds, he lifts his hand in prayer as due to God being his protector and having carried out God's "Mission!" What is the use of such a double faced God?

The businessmen who go out tossing the coin do not believe in God when they seek profits. It matters least to them who suffers and whether the sufferer is a good believer in God or a bad man. If they make profits, they might cleanse their hearts by making charity of a part of their booty. The thugs also did so before the Goddess Kali. And, tell me, which business does not support God and which religion is against profits?

If religion and prayers benefited mankind, the millions of producers should not be poorer and down-and-out, while the sellers of their goods should not have become rich, though few. Unfortunately, parasitism is abolishing itself—in spite of religion or "God" being supported by it.

No religion is better than another, since all religions are but supports to parasites and enemies of producers.

There is no religion; Church, State and Capital are the modern Trinity. They are three-in-one. And they are all warlike, not at all pacifist.

Bakunin said: Politics is the metaphysics of the State; and we might add: Religion is the politics of metaphysics.

I must tell you that a great Communist propagandist of atheism told me some time back: "We are against Religion and God, but we have the Prophet and Bible of a New Religion."

So, it makes no difference whether you read Ramayana and Bhagawat Gita or Das Capital. It is all prayer. Each can call itself better than the other, since none helps and all three help business—so long as it can go.

The religious mind and the business mind support each other and together they fall into relapse. The slavery of the mind to business is due to religion and the slavery to religion is due to business.

M. Acharya

MAN! has put up a brave and uncompromising struggle during its whole life in behalf of the propagation of such a natural order of society. It is possible that the autocrats of the Government may succeed, by their insidious campaign of blackmail-intimidations, to stifle the voice of MAN!, as reaction has often succeeded to do in the past with other voices of truth. Such a victory will prove but a momentary one. New voices of Justice and Freedom—of Anarchy—will arise. For, truth cannot be vanquished forever by lies, nor justice by injustice, or freedom by oppression.

The future belongs to the Liberated Man, freed of every form of exploitation, oppression and rulership. It is in this that there lies the true significance of all past battles in behalf of Freedom of Thought and the Freedom of Expression, just as it does in the 19 year-old ordeal that Marcus Graham has undergone, and in the persecutions that MAN! has been undergoing since 1934.

Freedom of Thought and the Freedom of the Press The Sole Issues

The necessity of reprinting the thoughts expressed by the Defenders of Freedom Throughout the Ages, (4) in this year of 1938 carries within itself about the strongest indictment against the present state of affairs in the United States that one could think of. It implies that we have no Freedom of Thought, and as a consequence, no Freedom of the Press. It is in order to arouse every liberty-spirited man and woman of the land that those thoughts were being reprinted, as was also the Speech of Marcus Graham in Court, and that this history of the Four Years persecution of MAN! is being presented herein.

For only an enlightened and conscious mankind can be expected to meet the onslaught of reaction which now engulfs the anarchist movement and its organ MAN! in this very land of the supposedly "brave and the free".

Today it is MAN!, the organ of the anarchist movement, and Marcus Graham, its editor, that are the targets of reaction. Tomorrow it will undoubtedly be another dissenting voice, individual, or movement that will be attacked. Those, therefore, who remain indifferent and silent or fail to raise their voices in protest against this attack upon the Freedom of Thought and the Freedom of the Press are unquestionably aiding the reactionary forces of America to gain the upper hand.

No true liberty loving man or woman ought to feel guilty of this charge.

(4) See December, January and February issues of MAN! —EDITOR.

Attention—Detroit, Michigan

The International Libertarian Committee Against Fascism in Spain have arranged regular Summer activities, both outdoor and indoor on the following dates:

OUTING: June 12th ... June 25th SOCIAL GATHERING
OUTING: July 10th ... July 23rd SOCIAL GATHERING
OUTING: Aug. 14th ... Aug. 27th SOCIAL GATHERING
OUTING: Sept. 11th ... Sept. 24th SOCIAL GATHERING

The OUTINGS will be on the mentioned Sundays at ALLEN ROAD Grounds and in case of bad weather on any given date, there will be a GATHERING indoor at the Libertarian Center, 2612 Bagley Ave., to last the afternoon and evening.

The SOCIAL GATHERINGS will be regularly at the Center every mentioned Saturday at 8 P. M. regardless of the weather.

All other Libertarian groups and organizations sympathizing with our work to help the Spanish Libertarian cause, please take note in order not to arrange conflicting affairs on same dates.

THE COMMITTEE

ART and LITERATURE

POEMS FOR MAY DAY

Cry For Millions

Who pities these who never see
Some land-locked stretch of beach;
Whose hands are ever upward raised
For stars they cannot reach;
Who tread a course of poverty
In slime, and filth and mud—
Who shed to fill the monster Gold
The richness of their blood;
Who wake to see a hopeless dawn
Crawl down a dirty street,
Who feel the cold hard pavement bruise
The soles of leaden feet;
Whose every hour is bounded by
Smoke and a factory's face—
Whose bones are laid when life is through
In Pauper Field's disgrace?
Who will heal their misery,
These lost and blinded by
Gaunt limbs and hungry mouths that seek
A country lane and sky?

RALEND BRYLE de MUNBRUN

Not Yet

Oh, before my spring is over,
Take me fortune, where it's sweet;
Where men greet the dawn with singing
Peace and beauty joy to meet.
Happy street and life unwinding;
Children laughing in the sun;
Where no popish eyes are minding
Lest the heart peep through the nun.
Where the darkened mask of seeming
Can be shredded with a cry!
Seeing freedom for my brother
I'd be ready then to die!

JEANETTE SELETZ

The Light

Love flows among us like life
Becoming real; the light
Of each others' presence is food for our health
For strength and comfort in this death.
We gather together like live men
From the world's dead system,
Building blood in our veins
With constructive dreams,
Where we rise in the moldering night
Minute but with determination
True like the substance of gravity.
And our slow forces gather like iron filings
To the magnet of our love:
To live and die in this time
For the world that will be ours.

VINCENT FERRINI

Monster

Capitalism is a monster
That coils itself around
The body of humankind
Crushing the life from
Living things . . .
When life is crushed from
One objective the serpentine
Monster creeps to another
Body around when it coils
And again crushes with
All its might . . . Some day when
Men grow smart, even as smart
As the old sabre tooth tiger
Of cave days, they will go out and
Cut to pieces this monster that
Devours them.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

Exactitude

Pharisees, hypocrites, shapers of platitude
Ride in the saddle and squat on the throne,
Order our policies, dictate our attitude,
Pillage our harvests and call them their own.
Welders of bondage, supreme in their crassitude
Preach that their powers were granted from God,
Dwell in the hope that the national lassitude
Shall keep them forever at wielding the rod.
Tyrannic morons destroy with serenity
Life and its vitals, to please selfish whims,
Judge the whole universe by their own plenitude,
Seek to beguile our ills, with mythic hymns.
Take to themselves on omnipotent latitude,
Shackle the rest with conventional chains,
Feel they're entitled to eternal gratitude
For letting us live and granting us brains.
But time becomes victor, Greed's blind senescence
Sinks to oblivion, where it belongs.
Man is awakening, learning his rectitude,
And soon he will turn his walls into songs.

JACK GREENBERG

Admonition to the Commune

I
People
of the land of no owners

SPANISH VOLUNTEER

Christmas crowds swarmed through Chicago's downtown streets.

It was night. Snow covered the ground.

Nate's shadow made its way slowly across Wabash Avenue. People jostled him. Their laughter filled his ears. Strong lights from the stores fell roughly on him, outlining his slender form.

His face was young, with grim lines running to his mouth. His eyes glinted strangely.

Behind him gleamed theater lights. He turned a last time to look at the theater. The lights flashed "Spanish Earth".

"Yes, the Spanish Earth," thought Nate, "the Chinese Earth," the American Earth, the World's Earth . . . what mattered which earth. Hadn't he given his life! Hadn't he fought in Spain and died there! Had not he seen and felt the Spanish Earth rise up and shake and tremble with Fascist bombs! Hadn't he died a slow, agonizing death on the baked plains! Hadn't he returned now to know whether he had died in vain! What had his struggle meant to his own people? Their shrill laughter still rang in his ears. Then there was still laughter in this world!—what mockery! He had seen the creeping death that was to contaminate the world. He had seen it, fought against it, died because of it . . ."

There was no laughter in his heart as he walked, his shoulders hunched against the cold. He stared ahead listlessly.

A young, pretty woman passed him. She looked searchingly into his eyes, suddenly she stopped and turned after him. Unknowing, Nate disappeared into the throng. Realizing that she had been the victim of another hallucination, that it couldn't possibly have been her dead husband, she turned and slowly continued on toward the theater.

Nate stopped at a newspaper-stand. A headline caught his eye: SPANISH REBEL BOMBS KILL 50. Suddenly he was on the battlefield. He could feel the close presence of his comrades as he surged forward. Bombs thundered, cannons shrieked, and bullets whistled, and soon he was shrieking and moving forward blindly, and—a flash, darkness . . .

He looked up into the night sky.

"Would I have done it again?" he asked.

The heavens were blankly black.

His eyes found the headline again: SPANISH REBEL BOMBS KILL 50.

"Fifty," he thought, "a small number. Only half of a hundred, an insignificant amount. What mattered the fifty.—It matters! I have seen it, these cold-blooded murders. I have seen it. It matters! Yes, I would go again, even knowing the outcome. But still, did I die in vain? Was it all for nothing?"

He bought a paper and moved to a lighted window to read.

Nearby, a garbage can stood close to a post. The post cast a large shadow over the garbage can. A shadow moved in the shadow.

Nate could see a man standing there. He could see the man's hands pass into the garbage-can and bring up something to his mouth.

Nate moved closer. The wintry wind brought tears to his eyes so that he blinked.

The man seemed unaware of Nate's presence. He ate hurriedly and unashamed. People passed without giving him a glance.

The man held a bone to his mouth. It was a chicken bone. His teeth gleaned what little meat there was. Then once again the man's hand passed into the garbage-can.

land of no churches,
Yet people that live
of the land
by the scythe and the mallet:

Men of the past—
with grizzly beard and popped out eyes
Men of the future—
with planes, factories, and enterprise.
Sons of the gun
and the bomb and the saber
People of work
exertion, and wasted labor,

Whence came thou scarlet colour, ye
of no human
or spiritual appeal?

Ye people to fall,
but of the billowing rise,
Ye creatures who see red
through blood-shot eyes.

II

Be thou red a heritage
of the past
Oh sturdy mountain and prairie man?
Or surging blood
in throbbing veins
of ancient ancestral clans?

Perchance
it's so, and when set free
by lead and steel
it covered the land

Nate moved closer. He saw that the man was shabby and thin. He could see the stubble of beard on the man's face. He knew that the man was terribly hungry. He could tell from the way the man tore at the meat, like a hungry dog.

Right behind the man was a grocery store. The place was completely empty except for the proprietor, a fat little man.

Nate glanced from the starving tramp to the fat proprietor.

His eyes again found the headline: REBEL BOMBS KILL 50.

"I would do it again," he muttered, clenching his fists in a passion.

A small sub-headline caught his eye, *Second Chicago dies on Spanish Battlefield.*

He read on and on, his eyes aglow, his lips muttering. . . .

" . . . and the club said in memorial of Nate 'the cause of progress and humanity meant more to him than his life' . . ."

"The members said: 'We pledge to you, dear Nate, that what was dearer to you than your life we hold likewise . . . We shall not rest until we have gained the final victory in the fight which you were engaged. Our victory shall be your vengeance' . . ."

"Not in vain," Nate muttered, "not in vain. I have not died in vain. What I fought for shall live after me. Do you hear, there. I have not died in vain!"

The tramp uneasily turned from the garbage-can towards the suspicious noise he thought he had heard.

But there against the dark wall he saw nothing but a mere shadow.

H. Mathews

HUMANITY'S IDEAL

We act as if nature should satisfy man's expectation. Life is progressive: what will be the ultimate limit of progress? It will be our expectation satisfied, our supremacy over nature complete, absolute. We cannot conceive the ideal of life but by giving free course to all instinct. Possible or impossible, that is the Utopia of life which inevitably leads us to inventing such a paradise. But to realize this, it does not suffice that nature respond materially to our expectation, that it bestow upon us all the desired treasures; it is indispensable also that man does not encounter man's obstacle, that war be extinguished. War is the most terrible of scourges; it tramples upon liberty, paralyzes society, absorbing it in a mechanical struggle of offense and defense, wrests from man all the gifts of nature. Humanity will never rule the globe unless it will be able to govern itself.

How can we govern ourselves? That is possible if humanity becomes materially associated, which cannot be realized before all interests will be solidary. That is the way the Utopia of life presupposes universal association, in which each man, seeking his own interest, would be useful to all others, the same way as each banker is interested in his correspondents' prosperity. A society is a real society only when solidarity is practised, not merely in words but in fact. An inventor's interest is the people's profiting by his invention; the scientist is a truth-seeker and is therefore useful to everybody; such is the progression toward solidarity, toward universal association.

J. Ferrar.

(Translated from "Philosophy of the Revolution"
—V. A.)

which drank it in with thirst and greed.
And so it might be
through rain and drought
the red was driven
into your soul
And it was decreed that this might be
the fate of your nation as a whole.
For gone is the church
from the wooded vale,
The country is red
The great commune doth prevail
The great commune . . . doth . . . prevail . . .

J. C. CREWS

CIVILIZATION

He was a brave, a thorough honest man. During months and months he had killed foreigners whom he never had known, blown their bodies to pieces with shrapnells, asphyxiated them with gas, pierced them through with bayonets.

"But at least was he ashamed of his actions?"

"Not at all!"

Nevertheless once, in the course of a slaughtering day, when this honest farmer had already in his heroic record the murdering of a few dozens of men, he perceived close to him, a pretty girl trying to flirt. He smiled at her and felt a growing desire to kiss the charming little flirt.

But some comrades were near looking at him. He was ashamed to do it.

Do never confound love with murder; love alone must stir up shame.

CAMILLE BAITON

TRUTH

Conditions change many things but fundamental truths never change. Some prevail in a short time because their very nature makes it impossible for us to avoid them long. Ultimately all will and must prevail. How long that will take and at what price depends upon how quickly all of us become educated enough to find and understand them.

What is truth? The dictionary defines truth is "the state or character of being true". True is defined as "conformable to fact or reality; not false or erroneous; being what it seems or pretends to be; genuine". Therefore, in order for anything to be the Truth it must be real; it must be what it seems or pretends to be; it must be genuine.

Every day you hear and read things that are not the truth, but merely opinions or propaganda. The main reading you do, the daily newspaper, is the busiest source of opinions and propaganda. The conversation of people is largely composed of opinions that were shaped by propaganda. Opinions and propaganda are plentiful, and they come to you daily from individuals, newspapers, movies, radio, schools and churches.

Then where do you get the truth? You do not get the truth; you must find it, and it is important that you learn how to find the truth because you cannot become educated until you stop believing and following the untrue which moulds you away from proper mental development.

How is the truth found? There are three steps to finding the truth: (1) Gathering facts; (2) Investigation and/or Experiment; (3) Analysis.

To illustrate this we will take a truth that you know; a truth that has prevailed because we could not avoid it very long and live. That truth is: we must breathe in order to live. You know that it is not just someone's opinion or some propaganda; it is the truth. Suppose you did not know that and you wanted to find the truth.

You would get the facts about air, oxygen and the lungs. Then you could experiment by holding your breath. In a short time you would be gasping for air. However, you still did not prove that you would die if you did not breathe—but it would be silly to carry the experiment to the extreme by tying a rope around your neck. Investigation shows that the facts about breathing have been proved many times by accidents or suicides.

In the above simple example we have little trouble finding the truth, and analysis is not necessary. Unfortunately, it is not that easy or quick with all truths.

We will take another simple example known to all: the truth about eating. We must eat to live and we cannot eat just certain things because the body requires various vitamins, etc. Suppose you experiment by stopping eating entirely. This time you do not feel the effects in a short time, as in the breathing experiment. Hours go by without any ill effects. Investigation reveals that people went without food for a week and more without fatal results.

There is no need to go into a long discussion on this because we all know the truth about eating. The point I want to bring out is that just as this truth about eating takes longer to prove than the one about breathing, so there are many truths that take much longer than either of them and there are some truths that have been avoided and not found by one generation after the other, and are still struggling for recognition.

When you face truths that are not simple and quickly proven, analysis is very important—and proper analysis is not easy. You must educate yourself; you must develop your intelligence to a higher degree in order to properly analyze.

In the case of more complex truths, such as certain truths about the forms of Government we have, you must be able to analyze the information and facts brought to light during your investigation.

You cannot experiment by yourself with Politics, so you rely entirely upon what you find through investigation—but how reliable is the investigation? The people and sources may be held in high esteem by you and the majority and yet be entirely untrue. There may be experiments by them which apparently prove their opinion, and yet they are false impressions, and not the truth.

Analysis will strip the apparently true of its propaganda, prejudice, tradition, patriotism or faith and re-

veal the truth. At present, though, you cannot analyze and in addition are unable to understand the results when someone does it for you. Those who do it for you are few in number and are not held in high esteem, nor is any truthful printed matter.

It is therefore very important, for the sake of truth, that you educate yourself and in the meantime keep an open mind on all subjects. By an open mind, I mean that you refuse to accept anything as true or untrue merely as a matter of trust, respect, or faith, for in so doing you close the path to finding the truth and become blindly prejudiced, and the more definite your decision is, the more blind you become to disputing facts all around you.

A child, for example, who has been reared to believe in Santa Claus, can easily be fooled with that lie even though the proof against it is all around him. You will say that is because he is a child. No, it is because he believes it and has definitely taken it to be true, and because he believes he does not look for contradictions nor recognize them as quickly as he would if he did not believe.

The same applies to all of us and to all things. We walk through a life full of facts without observing them because we are not looking for them. As far as we are concerned, everything is settled along the lines we have been moulded in. We can be and are at times far worse than the boy who believes in Santa Claus, because he does find the truth within reasonable time, while we go on, one generation after another, living our lives within a framework of lies affecting many things far

more important than Santa Claus.

Get into the habit of an open mind and look around; do some observing. Take your time; there's no rush, in fact the headlong rushing around you do hinders your progress. If it takes you ten years to find an important truth it will be much faster than you (the public) have gone so far. To date you have been following mainly opinions and prejudices, as far as important truths about civilization are concerned; you still do not understand and follow certain vital truths that were unearthed more than 2,000 years ago.

Your trouble was pointed out by William Hazlitt a little more than a hundred years ago when he wrote:—

"But half the opinions and prejudices of mankind . . . are not which they have ever thought, known or felt one little about, but which they have taken up on trust from others, which have been palmed on their understanding by fraud or force, and which they continue to hold at the peril of life, limb, property and character, with as little warrant from common sense in the first instance as appeal to reason in the last".

That means you have opinions and prejudices, not of your own experience or your own thinking, but because they have been moulded into you and you follow them by habit or fear and not through reasoning or common sense. There is no doubt that your main trouble has been that you have not followed the truth, but have been warped away from the truth by propaganda. That still holds true.

Do not believe everything you read or hear—find the truth. It is your heritage.

On The Block

Well, folks, this time our Santa opens up with a radio stunt in partnership with a dummy, which he himself has invented. Here it is, folks:

Santa: Listen Charlie, did you hear what a strong Union Mr. Lewis has organized for the working class?

Charlie: You mean the CIO? Ho-ho-ho! It's a peculiar question you're asking, Mr. Santa. Why, I am one of his most loyal members.

Santa: Is that so? I suppose being a member of the CIO you don't have to worry about work, do you Charlie?

Charlie: Oh, no, Mr. Santa. I don't have to; really I don't. All I do is just go in and pay my dues.

Santa: And then what?

Charlie: Then I go on "relief" . . .

At last some of our intellectuals are beginning to wake up and speak their mind. Here's our Einstein coming out with a discovery of a new rudiment in the theory of matter. . . . Don't you think democracy is now sure to be saved? . . .

Here's something very amusing. A certain young lady discovered an original plan for stopping wars. It's very simple: All we need to do is send beautiful blondes to stand in front of the trenches. Surely, she says, the soldiers would become so fascinated by their charm that they'd lose all nerve to shoot at one another.

It's a clever idea. The only thing the lady overlooked is a possible battle for blondes . . .

And the capitalist press is very much beset by fear that "anarchy" will overtake loyalist Spain before Franco winds up his military campaign.

We don't blame it. It certainly would be a damned shame to disrupt the peace and tranquility with which he ruled during the almost-two years of orderly bliss.

There seems to be no limit to the sabotage going on in Soviet Union. Even the Arctic Explorers have become so degraded as to break up the "icebergs" which comrade Stalin has entrusted in their hands.

We pity those poor astronomers if an eclipse ever covers up the moon in Russia . . .

And Mussolini again popped off about the heroism of his Black-Shirts.

We doubt it. To our way of thinking it takes more courage to live on "relief" than to die for glory . . .

And speaking of glory, the dead Fascists can never have all the glory they want. We'll gladly hand it to them . . .

No, this department will never accept the "ja" vote of the Austrian plebscite as a true count. Fact is we don't even trust our own Tammany when it comes to counting votes . . .

Incidentally, what will the Communist say about an election that's been forced at the point of a gun? . . . (As a matter of fact we almost collapsed from laughter when we saw a cartoon in D. W., showing an Austrian voting "ja" as directed by a gun-holder who looked very much like Stalin. . .)

And while we are on the subject of elections, didn't the Socialist always advocate the ballot-box as the only means by which people would usher in socialism? . . .

The way Mr. Roosevelt grapples with the depression—

For the First Time Translated into English DOES GOD EXIST?

By SEBASTIEN FAURE

Ten Cents Per Copy Obtainable through MANI!

pardon, recession—reminds us of an evangelist fighting with the Devil. As many times as that poor Devil gets knocked out he always comes back for more . . .

Attention you good-standing members of the Relief and WPA. The Government is about to spend 4½ billion Dollars to help bring back prosperity. Stand ready to receive some of the dough before them Big-Shots gets a hold of it . . .

Judging from the way the Chinese treat their Japanese guests we don't think they are very hospitable. But then again, maybe they are the sort of guests that come uninvited.

Santa-Panta

INTER NOS

Our comrades of San Francisco and Los Angeles lead the list of contributors to the income during the last month. Only one other Group, that of Riverside, Pa., contributed to the income. We know that affairs for MANI were held in April by Groups in Brooklyn, N. Y. and Detroit, Michigan. But so far no report of the results of the affairs held has reached us. Individual contributions, as can be seen, are on the increase. Nevertheless, the deficit keeps mounting up. It is therefore up to the Groups throughout the country, as well as to individuals, to make every endeavor to wipe out the deficit.

The reading circle of MANI is extending wide and afar. In England, aside from comrade Keel who receives bundles of each issue, we have now the Revolutionary Youth Federation and the Worker's Friend determined to spread MANI throughout England. This should be inspiring news to all our comrades here who ought to bend every effort in placing MANI on sale at as many newsstands as is only possible.

The fund for making possible the immediate publication of the pamphlet "Defenders of Freedom of Thought Throughout the Ages" is making some progress, as the report below shows, but, in order to materialize the project, about \$150.00 more is needed. The publication of the pamphlet is an immediate necessity since we are planning to hold this coming fall protest meetings throughout the country against the Government's attempt to stifle our voice by effecting the deportation of the editor of MANI, and the distribution of the pamphlet at the meetings to be held will prove of a great moral aid in defeating the aims of the enemies of Freedom of Thought and the Freedom of the Press.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

INCOME: San Francisco Group—\$37.50; Los Angeles Group—\$20.60; Riverside, Pa., Group—\$5.00; G. Masci—\$5.00; Calvin Green, Cella Goldberg (newspaper sales) \$3.00 each; Louis Battaglia, Chung Shih, S. Vitall, M. Erro, Roger Hall—\$2.00 each; Newspaper sales, San Francisco—\$1.50; Anna Levin, Mike Prince, P. Joe, H. Lum, Joe Moke, L. Bettolo, A. Cortone, A. Alfonsi, Jim Meyers, S. Rossetti—\$1.00 each; Newspaper stands, Los Angeles—32 cents; Revolutionary Youth Federation, England, Charles E. Johnson, Mike Prince—50 cents each. TOTAL: \$97.92.

| | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| EXPENDITURES | \$105.73 |
| Deficit from April issue | 65.06 |
| INCOME | \$170.79 |
| | \$97.92 |

DEFICIT \$72.87

Pamphlet Fund

("Defenders of Freedom of Thought Throughout the Ages")

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| Previously Acknowledged | \$29.50 |
| Albert Steinhauer | 2.00 |
| V. Di Leo | 2.00 |
| Loh Tsing Yuan, China | 1.25 |
| Los Angeles Discussion-Luncheon | 9.20 |
| L. Battaglia | 1.50 |
| | \$45.45 |

MANI is On Sale At:

Los Angeles:

Newstand, Fifth and Main Street.
Newstore 330 N. Main Street.
Smith's Newstand 613 Hill Street.

Pasadena:

Newstand, Barber Shop, W. Colorado near Fair Oaks.

San Francisco:

Bookstore, 658 Broadway.
MacDonald's Book Store, 65 Sixth Street.

Chicago, Illinois:

Post Office News Co., 37 Monroe St.

New York City:

Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th Street.

England:

Thos. H. Keel, Whiteway Colony, W. Stroud, Gloucester.
Revolutionary Youth Federation, 2 Maiden Crescent, N. W. 1, London.
The Worker's Friend, 163 Jubilee Street, Mile End, 3. 1, London.

Scotland:

Guy Aldred, 145 Queen St., Glasgow.

Those who wish to aid in placing MANI on sale at any Newstand or Bookstore in their respective cities should communicate with us for arrangements.